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THE

JOURNAL OF ISAAC SENTER,

PHYSICIAN AND SURGEON TO THE TROOPS DETACHED FROM THE AMERICAN ARMY ENCAMPED AT CAMBRIDGE, MASS.,

ON A SECRET EXPEDITION AGAINST QUEBEC,

UNDER THE COMMAND OF

COL. BENEDICT ARNOLD,

IN SEPTEMBER, 1775.

CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY
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NOTICE.

The desire to possess the autographs and portraits of distinguished individuals has led to discoveries of great value to history and letters, and helped to preserve, particularly in a country where the past has had too little reverence, the materials of history itself. It is not known how, or why the original manuscript Journal of Dr. Senter was left in Philadelphia, nor how it came to the hands of its possessor—its existence became known in consequence of inquiries made by Dr. Lewis Roper, of this city, who wished to add to his collection of autographs a good specimen of the handwriting of General Arnold. It was given to him, that he might extract from it an original note of that officer, which the reader will find printed at page 32. His perception of the value of the Journal induced him to communicate it to the Society by which it is published, with permission to print it. It is now given entire, and some few references have been added, to other collections, which form the scanty materials for a history of events, in which the troops of Pennsylvania and Virginia maintained their well-earned reputation for endurance and valor. The circumstances connected with the desertion of the expedition by Colonel Enos, and the return of most of the men of his command, are very little known, and light, of some importance, is shed on the subject, for the first time, it is believed. It is proper to add, that the words in brackets [ ] are not in the original manuscript, but have been added to complete the sense wherever omissions were palpable.

Philadelphia, April, 1846.

PREFACE.

The following journal presents an interesting account of the sufferings and privations which were endured by a detachment of troops under the command of Arnold, on their march from Cambridge to Quebec, in the autumn of the year 1775, by the route of the Kennebec and Chaudiere rivers. It is well known, that the object of the expedition was to co-operate with the army under the command of General Montgomery, which had previously entered Canada by the way of Lake Champlain, reduced St. John's and Montreal, and was preparing to march against Quebec. When it is recollected that the country through which this detachment then passed was almost entirely a wilderness, affording no resources to the troops, it may be safely asserted, that no portion of our Revolutionary History presents more interesting features than the incidents of this expedition. The patient endurance of this small body of men, under the pressure of extraordinary hardships, and the zeal manifested by those who persevered in the undertaking, entitle this part of our annals to a more conspicuous place in history than it has yet obtained. To perpetuate the remembrance of it is the motive which has induced this publication. Many of the facts related by the writer are corroborated in the interesting narrative of the late Judge Henry, of Lancaster, Pennsylvania, who bore a part in the expedition, and which was published by his family after his decease. Dr. Isaac Senter, was a native of Londonderry, in the State of New Hampshire. He was descended from a respectable family, and was born in the year 1753. He studied medicine at Newport, Rhode Island, with Dr. Thomas Moffat, a Scotch physician of eminence. While pursuing his studies, the news of the battle of Lexington arrived. He immediately joined the Rhode Island troops, and accompanied them to the camp of the American army at Cambridge, in the capacity of surgeon. When the organization of the army took place, his appointment was confirmed, and he was ordered to the detachment under Arnold. He retired from the army in the year 1779, and established himself as a physician in the town of Cranston, Rhode Island. About this time he was elected a Representative to the General Assembly from that town, and afterwards appointed Surgeon and Physician General to the State. Subsequently he removed to Newport, where he commenced the practice of his profession under the most favorable circumstances, as almost all of the old physicians had either died or emigrated during the year. He became eminent not only as an industrious and successful practitioner, but also as the author of several essays on professional subjects, which appeared in the medical publications of the day, and added greatly to his reputation at home and in Europe. He was elected an honorary member of the Medical and Chirurgical Societies of Edinburgh and London, and an honorary member of the Massachusetts Medical Society. For several years he was President of the Society of Cincinnati of Rhode Island. Later on he was tall and well proportioned, in address dignified and popular. In the height of his reputation and usefulness he was attacked with a bilious colic, caused by the severity of his professional labors, which terminated his life, to the great regret of his fellow citizens, on the 21st day of December, 1799, at the age of 46 years.

A JOURNAL, &c.

Cambridge, Tuesday, September 13, 1775.

The detachment under the command of Commandant Arnold had now been under marching orders from the 11th,* during which time most of the troops had quitted this place by different detached parties for the more convenient marching and lodging.

At 5 o'clock, P. M., I left this in company with Mr. Greene (my mate,) Mr. Barr, and Mr. Jackson, when we marched, distance from Cambridge, seven miles, on our way to Newbury Port. Came up with some part of the army at this place, and being pretty well tired with seven miles foot-padding in two hours, we concluded to compose ourselves, though with very indifferent fare.

Wednesday, 14th.—Finding the fleas and other Tory insects not a little free with our property, we thought best to decamp very early this morn, and proceeded as far as Salem, where we dined; from thence to Old Ipwich, where we found very agreeable lodgings, &c. By this time our feet began to be very sensible of our undertaking, and threatened an immediate excoriation; however, being all in the same predicament, afforded a seeming alleviation.

Thursday, 15th.—We renewed our march this morning by sunrise, and continued it till half after one, P. M., when we arrived in the town of Newbury, where I, with my company, took lodgings at Mr. Devenport's, an Innholder. The rear of the army was now coming up, while the transports were fitting with all possible despatch for our reception. This being a very agreeable place, I spent my time in a routine of pleasure; however, our residence was only temporary, and all things being ready for our embarcation, we left a most beautiful town and its brave generous inhabitants the 19th.

Tuesday, 19th.—Transports being now in readiness, we were ordered to embark this morning by 9 o'clock. Our fleet consisted of 11 sail of shipping, sloops and schooners, containing, upon an average, 100 troops, as our army consisted of 1100 men, officers included.† Got under way immediately, and all got

* Henry's Campaign, p. 16. Meig's Journal, vol 2. Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. p. 227. (2d series.)

† Henry's Campaign, p. 17. Ten companies of musketmen, and three companies of riflemen. Meigs's Journ. vol. 2. (2d ser.) Coll. Mass. Hist Soc. p. 228. Allen's Journ., 1 vol. Coll. Maine Hist. Soc., vol. 1. p. 388, contains a statement of the officers and volunteers of the expedition. Arnold's instructions are to be found, Wash. Writ. vol. 3. p. 86.

safe over the bar, at the mouth of the river, except one of the transports, which was brought up on the shoals, and detained us till nigh three in the afternoon. Tide making in her favor, she got under way, and enabled us all to proceed to Cenebec R. The vessel I was desired to go on board of was the Broad Bay, a topsail schooner, in company of our colonel commandant, Mr. Spring, [the] Chaplain, and a number of other gentlemen, several of which were volunteers of distinction. Our commandant now became Commodore of the Squadron, and after preparing signals, and distributing them to each captain of the respective transports, we pushed for Cenebec River. Nothing extraordinary occurred during our passage; had that evening heavy wind with considerable rain, this bringing on a swell, occasioned most of the troops to disgorge themselves of their luxuries so plentifully laid in ere we embarked.

Wednesday 20.—This morning brought the mouth of the Cenebec River in sight half an hour after sunrise. The wind and rain continued exceeding hard, and with much difficulty we entered the river; however, we finally got in and came to an anchor about a mile up the river. Went on shore with the gentlemen, got some fresh beef, &c. Here we waited till five in the afternoon for the other transports to arrive, but being separated the preceding night in the gale of wind, many fell much to leeward. We now proceeded up the river to Parker's flats, where we came to an anchor this night.

Thursday 21.—Several of the transports that were missing came up with us last night, and early this morning. Weighed and proceeded up the river, distance unknown.

Friday 22.—No extraordinary occurrence this day, except our pilots running us on the shoals, which detained us a considerable time. Passed through a very narrow part of the river which was very rapid, called Hell Gate. Passed Pownalborough ere we arrived at Gardner's Town, where a number of battoes were preparing for our reception after the transports became useless. These were not quite finished. Came to an anchor, where we tarried till the remainder of the transports came up. Two of which were drove to leeward down to Sheeps-Cup River, so called, and came up to us by way of Townsend. The Broad Bay now weighed, and proceeded up to Fort Western, leaving a number of of men behind to bring up the batteaux.

Saturday 23.—Wind being unfavourable, we were not able to arrive at Fort Western last evening. This morn I quitted the B. Bay, and proceeded up the river by land. The distance being only five miles to F. W., though most of the way was destitute of any road. Arrived at F. Western at 10 o'clock in the morning. We were now come to a Rapid in the river, beyond which our transports could not pass, nor could they all get up as far as

this. Most of them were left at Gardner's Town, where the batteaux were built, and the troops disembarked from them into the batteaux, except those who were obliged to take land carriage. The batteaux were made of green pine boards, which rendered them somewhat heavy. The troops were now coming up to this fast, with the batteaux, provisions, &c. Head Quarters were at Esq. Howard's, an exceeding hospitable, opulent, polite, family.

Sunday 24.—Early this morning was called to attend a wounded soldier, who was shot through the body last night by a malicious drunken fellow belonging to the army. The hemorrhage was great inwardly, which soon occasioned his death. From the mouth of Cennebec river to F. Western 46 computed miles.

Monday 25.—This morning search being made for the fellow who was imagined to be the murderer—found and condemned by a court martial to hang.* This evening Capt. Morgan marched up the river with a division of the riflemen. The rest of the army had now got very nigh in readiness to march. The number of batteaux were about one hundred. To each of them a select number of batteaux men were ordered, in general about 5 per boat. In these all the provisions were put, tents and camp equipage, &c., all excepting what was necessary for that party who went by land. This number (as nigh as I could guess,) amounted to about 600. Among which watermen. I had the honor to command one batteaux, in care of all the medical stores, &c. My mate, Mr. Greene, being sick of a dysentery, was obliged to leave him behind.

Tuesday 26.—This morning at 10. left F. Western in company with Lieut. Col. Greene, Mr. Burr, and several other gentlemen, and intrusted† by batteaux in the care of my hands. Lodged within five miles of Fort Halifax, at Mr. Hobby's; nothing material transpiring this day. All the army was in motion by land and water, though somewhat scattering, the better to facilitate our march.

Wednesday 27.—Quit our lodgings at 10 in the morn. and arrived at Fort Halifax at 12. This appeared a very pleasant prospect; some few inhabitants, though not many, are settled round this place. Was invited by Mr. Howard, an inhabitant who lived up a small river which emptied into Cennebec, close by the fort, forming a point between the two rivers which the fort stood upon. According to invitation, went up the little river called Sabasticuck, distance from the fort, four miles. From Fort Western to Fort Halifax, 18 computed miles. At this time several of our army were much troubled with the dysentery, diarrhea, &c.

Thursday 28.—This morning I returned to the fort from my

* See Arnold's Letter, Coll. Maine Hist. Soc., vol. 1. p. 357, for an account of this occurrence.

† *Sic*, orig.

lodgings up the little river, but finding the rear of the army not yet arrived, I betook myself back to my last night's lodging, where I fared exceeding well. Col. Arnold was now in the rear of the army.

Friday 29.—In search of the army, I again came down to the fort, but the rear not coming up, I returned again to my hospitable lodgings. During all this time the batteaux were coming up and going over the falls. These falls are called Tacunnick. The rapid water is the distance of about half a mile, past which all our batteaux, camp equipage, &c., was carried by hand. By this time several of our batteaux began to leak profusely, made of green pine, and that in the most slight manner. Water being shoal and rocks plenty, with a very swift current most of the way, soon ground out many of the bottoms.

Saturday 30.—Ere this, my batteau had arrived at the fort, in such a shattered condition, that I was obliged to purchase another, or not proceed by water without destroying my medicines, stores, &c. I purchased a more portable well built one, seasoned, &c., fit for the business, for which I gave four dollars. This day I received orders to proceed, as the rear of the army had arrived at the fort. I accordingly engaged Mr. Howard's team, put my bark, freight, &c., on board his cart, and carried it from his house over across the land to Cenebec.

Sunday, Oct. 1.—I was now seven miles above Fort Halifax, and for the first time encamped upon the ground, the last evening. Morgan's division were still forward. Here in my little rural hut I received orders this morning to tarry till Col. Enos' division came up. Col. Greene commanded one battalion and Col. Enos the other, both Lieut. Cols. Boats were now continually passing by us when I impatiently waited the coming of the last division. My boat's crew consisted of three Englishmen, sailors, one old Swiss, and a young Scotchman, a deserter from the British army at Boston; as indeed all the rest were deserters from them at different places. This day I spent in marching up and down the river to see the progress of the army passing the rapids. The river for about two miles was exceeding swift, water shoal, &c. Every batteaux crew were obliged to take to the water. Some to the painter, and others heaving at the stern. In these rapids the water was in general waistband high. With their united efforts, the stream was so violent as many times to drive them back after ten or twelve fruitless attempts in pulling and heaving with the whole boats crew.*

Monday 2.—Yet was I in possession of my little hut, waiting for the rear division. When an express came from up the river about nine miles in quest of my going to see a sick soldier.

*Henry's Campaign, p. 31.

Upon which I concluded to quit my habiation and proceed up along. Rapids obliged us to fall short about 4 miles, where we lodged at one McCrackts.

Tuesday 3.—Proceeded early this morning up to my patient: found him at one Mr. Howard's, where were numbers of the army The water now grew very rapid, three miles above was the falls called by the name of Wassarunskeig, ere we came to these falls. The river formed an elbow, across which there was a carrying place.

This I passed over, to view the falls, though did not move my baggage, &c., till next day. The rear division was still behind.

Wednesday 4.—As the rapids afforded but a tedious route of three miles by water round, I chose rather to take the advantage of the carrying places which was two and a half miles only, accordingly I had boat and baggage carried over by land to the foot of the falls, where we were obliged to put in and cross over the opposite side, ere we could carry by the falls. These were a very high water fall, and exceeding difficult carrying by. After backing all the boats, provisions, camp equipage, &c., over, we again advanced up the river. Not far had we advanced ere we came to a fall called Scunkhegon. With a great deal of difficulty we passed this, but not without coming very nigh losing one of my hands. After passing these, I proceeded about half a mile and tented.

Thursday 5.—We were now within about four and a half miles of Norrigewalk, where I left the charge of my batteaux to my lads, and proceeded up the river by land, till within about half a mile, where I contracted with a couple of savages who followed the army, to take charge of the boat, in consequence of the water rowing exceeding rapid. They conducted her safe to the foot of the Norrigewalk fall, where they were (that is the batteauxs) all haul'd up. We had now a number of teams employed in conveying the batteaux, provisions, camp equipage, &c., over this carrying place. By this time, many of our batteaux were nothing but wrecks, some stove to pieces, &c. The carpenters were employed in repairing them, while the rest of the army were busy in carrying over the provisions, &c. A quantity of dry cod fish, by this time was received, as likewise a number of barrels of dry bread. The fish lying loose in the batteaux, and being continually washed with the fresh water running into the batteaux. The bread casks not being water-proof, admitted the water in plenty, swelled the bread, burst the casks, as well as soured the whole bread. The same fate attended a number of fine casks of peas. These with the others were condemned. We were now curtailed of a very valuable and large part of our provisions, ere we had entered the wilderness, or left the inhabitants. Our fare was now reduced to salt pork and flour. Beef we had once now and then, when we could purchase a fat creature, but that was

seldom. A few barrels of salt beef remained on hand, but of so indifferent quality, as scarce to be eaten, being killed in the heat of summer, took much damage after salting, that rendered it not only very unwholesome, but very unpalatable.

Friday, 6th.—Several of our army continued to be troubled with the dysentery, of which disease, Capt. Williams, a gentleman from Connecticut, came nigh to lose his life. Continued getting over provisions, &c. Weather mostly cloudy and considerable rain.

Saturday, 7th.—We were still at Norrigewalk, where was now most of the army. By a council of the officers, it was thought advisable to send letters into Quebec, informing some gentlemen of that city of our movements, &c. After the despatches were wrote it was concluded to send one Mr. Jacksmith, inhabitant of this river and native of Germany, who spoke the French language, in company with two Penobscot Indians, by name Sabattis and Enneos,* who were well acquainted with the wilderness through, as well as the inhabitants of the country where they were going. Accordingly they were dispatched in a bark canoe, taking a sufficient quantity of provisions for the purpose.

Sunday, 8th.—Our provisions were now all over, and had it not been for the inclemency of the weather, we should [have] decamped. No occurrences of note this day.

Monday, 9th.—Early this morn we were all in motion, and bid good bye to old Norrigewalk. I ordered my lads on board of the batteaux, and took foot land. We proceeded up the river to the 7 mile stream, so called, which was about six miles from our last stage. Swift current—made but poor speed—exceeding load. After coming to the 7 mile stream, I betook myself to my boat, and continued our progress about three miles further, where we encamped. Much indisposed this day.

Tuesday, 10th.—We were under way early this morning. Sometimes was in my boat, at others on the land. Arrived at the very high waterfall called Caratuncah, between 2 and 3 o'clock, P. M. Thirteen miles from Norrigewalk. Past these by land carriage; only about forty-six rood. Then came to our encampment a mile above them. Rapid water all this day, with exceeding fine soil and a beautiful growth of timber.

Wednesday, 11th.—Decamped at our usual time, viz., at the rising sun. Continued my march mostly by land this day. The water still continued very rapid. Our army were now scattered up and down the road at the distance of ten or twelve miles. At 7 in the evening we quit the water and with the greatest difficulty procured a fire. Sprung our tents and made an exceeding luxurious bed with the blue joint grass, which this river land produces in great plenty, not less than five or six feet high.

*Henry's Campaign, p. 32 to 35.

Thursday, 12th.—Our next stage we had in view was the Great Carrying Place, where with the greatest difficulty we arrived half after four, P. M. The distance of this day's march we judged at twelve miles. The water mostly very rapid. Here I found most of the army, who had chiefly crossed the carrying place. We were now three days march into the wilderness, from any improvements whatsoever. I left my lads in care of my boat, baggage, &c., and proceeded over the land in quest of our Commander. Came to the first pond or lake, and found he had crossed that. I then continued my course after him, when I found him encamped just over the lake, and found he had crossed that. I then continued my course after him, where I continued with him that night.

Friday, 13th. This morning returned immediately back to my boat and only got part of my baggage over. The pioneers, who had made the road as it was through the woods to the first pond, were now gone forward in their business. Brought over part of my things, where I took up my lodgings again at the same place as last night.*

Saturday, 14th.—Returned again to my boat, and continued carrying over the remainder with all possible speed. The army was now much fatigued, being obliged to carry all the batteaus, barrels of provisions, warlike stores, &c., over on their backs through a most terrible piece of woods conceivable. Sometimes in the mud knee deep, then over ledgy hills, &c. The distance was three and three-quarter miles. Was obliged to encamp between the river and pond, not being able to get quite over with the last load †

Sunday, 15th.—This day I got over all my affairs to the second portage, where I was obliged to tarry till the rear of the army came up. Many of us were now in a sad plight with the diarrhœa. Our water was of the worst quality. The lake was low, surrounded with mountains, situate in a low morass. Water was quite yellow. With this we were obliged not only to do all our cooking, but use it as our constant drink. Nor would a little of it suffice, as we were obliged to eat our meat exceeding salt. This with our constant fatigue called for large quantities of drink. No sooner had it got down than it was puked up by many of the poor fellows.

Monday, 16th.—We now found it necessary to erect a building for the reception of our sick, who had now increased to a very formidable number. A block house was erected and christened

*Arnold's Journ., p. 211; Knapp's Life of Burr. The letter is to be found, 1 Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., p. 359. The person to whom it was addressed delivered it to the Lieut. Governor, and the English had notice of the appproach of the Americans.

†Arnold's Journ., p. 213 Knapp's Life of Burr.

by the name of Arnold's Hospital, and so soon finished that filled. Not far from this was a small bush hut provisionally constructed by Morgan's division of riflemen, who were gone forward. In this they left a young gentleman by name Irvin, a native of Pennsylvania, brought up a physician in that city,* and serving as an ensign in the company under Capt. Morgan. The case of this young gentleman was truly deplorable. In the first of our march from Cambridge, he was tormented with a disentery, for which he never paid any medical attention. When he came to wading in the water every day, then lodging on the ground at night, it kept him in a most violent rheumatism I ever saw, not able to help himself any more than a new born infant, every joint in his extremities inflexible and swelled to an enormous size. Much in the same condition was Mr. Jackson of the same company, and Mr. Greene, my mate. The last of whom was left at Fort Western. All these three gentlemen were afflicted with the same disease during the beginning of our march, nor would arguments prevail on them to use any medicine. Flattered as they were that nature would relieve them, yet they for once were mistaken.

Tuesday, 17th.—By this, the remainder of the army had now come up, in consequence of which I quit my hospital business and proceeded with them where I left poor Dr. Irvin, with all the necessaries of life I could impart to him. He was allowed 4 men of his company to wait upon him, but as they'd nothing to do with, they could be of little service, except keeping him a good fire, turning him when weary, &c. His situation was most wretched, overrun with vermin, unable to help [himself] in the least thing, attended constantly with the most violent pain. And in fine, laboured under every inconvenience possible.

Wednesday, 18th.—In our course yesterday we had got to the third pond where we encamped, and early this morning we pursued the army and crossed the third and last pond. These abound with excellent large trout in great plenty, of which we caught several, which was no small help to us. This day Major Bigelow with 27 men returned from an advanced party in quest of provisions, and informed us that they were destitute in the front. Crossed this lake, leaving my boat, &c., behind. This was a very beautiful situation for the wilderness, a large mountain bordering boldly on the N. W., with more at a greater distance in the South, and S. W. The computed distance over this lake was four miles.

Thursday, 19th.—The rear of the army were now busily engaged in coming up,† and crossing this lake. Maj. Bigelow returned to the front with obtaining only a sufficiency to reconcile

* *Sic*, orig.

† Henry's Campaign, p. 53.

the foremost detachment, till the rear could get up with them. After getting my boat, baggage, &c., to this great carrying place, which was late in the afternoon, I with my lads took a load and went over in search of a small rivulet which would conduct us to the Dead River. This river is so called from its almost seeming stagnant water. This carrying place was four miles, as computed, two and a half miles of which ascending till we rose to a great height, then a sudden descent into a tedious spruce and cedar swamp, bog mire half knee high, which completed the other mile and half. Not being able to bring the whole of my equipage over this day, I sent my lads back to the remainder and continued at the small rivulet myself, making the harbor possible under the lee of my batteau, without any other covering although a severe rain storm. This was a small serpentine, coming undoubtedly out of some heighth of land we had just passed, running a northerly course. Much deeper than wide, in most places the width did not exceed twelve feet. Surrounded with low meadow whose grass was very plenty.

Friday, 20th.—My lads with the remainder of the baggage arrived early this morning. I crawled out from under my topsy-turned boat, ordered her launched, and boarded, proceeding down our water labyrinth into the Dead River, which was distant from this about three quarters of a mile. Still continued to rain exceeding hard. I had almost forgot to mention the sufferings of a poor ox, who had continued the march with us, through all our difficulty, to this day. He was drove by two men whose business it was to get him along as fast as the army marched. That whenever we came to a pond or lake he was drove round it. Rivers and small streams he swam and forded without any difficulty. Being in the front of the army, he was ordered to fall a victim two miles up the Dead River, and each man to receive a pound as they passed. This was a very agreeable repast, as we had been principally upon salt for twelve days, and that scanty. After drawing the rations for myself and boats' crews, we proceeded up a small distance; sprung our tent upon the bank and went to cooking. As the storm of rain and wind continued to increase, and being forward of the main body of the army, I concluded to fix there for the day. In the meantime we prepared our fishing apparatus and made search for the trout, which we found in plenty of a large size, and excellent quality. With these we made a most luxurious supper, having received a few potatoes and carrots which I procured of my benefactor, Mr. Howard, up the little river Sebasticuck aforesaid, and to complete the dish, I was obliged to draw forth my small butter box containing about half a dozen pounds, which I kept closely concealed in my medicine chest, anticipating in some measure the condition were coming to. Many of the army passed us this day.

Saturday, 21st—Found it necessary this morning to decamp as early as possible. Wind S. S. W. The storm had increased excessively, and had now raised the river to a quick running current. However, all made very good way against it, and as the storm and stream argmented, we thought it best not to quit the boat for any repast till we put up for the night. Carried by one waterfall only this day. The wind increased to an almost hurricane the latter part of the day. The trees tumbling on all quarters that rendered our passage not only exceeding difficult, but very dangerous. At sunset we arrived at the encampment of Col. Greene and his division, who were waiting for provisions ere they could proceed. As the wind continued very heavy, the danger of encamping among the trees was thought great. However, we selected the most open place we could find, and then pitched our tent, and with a great deal of difficulty procured a fire by about 8 in the evening, which, however, was of little use to us, as not desiring to be in the tent on account of the continued fall of trees. Storm abated about 12 o'clock, and the weather became fair, after which I obtained a little rest, though in *Balneum Frigidum*.

Sunday, 22d.—We were in motion this morning by light. Several of our batteaux were now under water almost out of sight, in consequence of the rivers rising. From a Dead river it had now become live enough. The rise of the water in this storm was computed at 10 feet. This sudden alteration in the river not only impeded our water carriage, but rendered the marching of the party by land of the utmost difficulty, as the river was no longer confined to her banks, but extended in many low, flat places, a mile or more each way upon the upland. Added to this, all the small rivulets (and they were not few) were swelled to an enormous size, as obliged the land party to trace them up for many miles till a narrow part offered, and then could only cross by felling large trees over them. This day for the first time I was obliged to come on half allowance, as the advanced party had been for several days. Our progression was exceeding gradual on account of the rapidity of the waters, that in many places we could only advance by one lying on the bow of the boat, pulling with his hands by the small bushes, while others proceeded upon the bank, holding on by the painter. Lieut. Humphreys with his whole boat's crew were overturned, lost everything except their lives, with which they escaped very unexpectedly.

Monday, 23d.—The number of batteaux were now much decreased. Some stove to pieces against the banks, while others became so excessive leaky as obliged us to condemn them. This

[1] Arnold's Journal, Knapp's Life of Burr, p. 215.

increased our number by load, as well as their burdens. In this situation we exerted every nerve to the best advantage possible, so as not to lose a minute of day-light. The better to facilitate this salutary measure, we were ordered to cook our small pittance every night, to last us through the day, and this in the most frugal manner by boiling only. Passed two water-falls where we were obliged to cut roads and carry by land, of about twenty roads each. Several of our men were excessively exhausted with the diarrhea.

Tuesday, 24th.—Approaching necessity now obliged us to double our diligence. Three miles only had we proceeded ere we came to a troublesome water-fall in the river, distant half a mile. Not more than the last mentioned distance before we were brought up by another, distance the same. As the number of falls increased, the water became consequently more rapid. The heights of land upon each side of the river which had hitherto been inconsiderable, now became prodigiously mountainous, closing as it were up the river with an aspect of an immense heighth. The river was now become very narrow, and such a horrid current as rendered it impossible to proceed in any other method than by hauling the batteaux up by the bushes, painters, &c. Here we met several boats returning loaded with invalids, and lamentable stories of the inaccessibleness of the river, and the impracticability of any further progress into the country. Among which was Mr. Jackson before mentioned, complaining of the gout most severely, joined to all the terrors of approaching famine. I was now exhorted in the most pathetic terms to return, on pain of famishing upon contrary conduct, and the army were all returning except a few who were many miles forward with Col. Arnold. However his elocution did not prevail, I therefore bid him adieu and proceeded. Not far had I proceeded before I discovered several wrecks of batteaux belonging to the front division of riflemen, &c., with an increased velocity of the water. A direful howling wilderness not describable. With much labour and difficulty I arrived with the principal part of my baggage (leaving the batteaux made fast) to the encampment. Two miles from thence I met the informants last mentioned, where were Col. Greene's division, &c., waiting for the remainder of the army to come up, that they might get some provisions, ere they advanced any further. Upon enquiry I found them almost destitute of any eatable whatever, except a few *candles*, which were used for supper, and breakfast the next morning, by boiling them in water gruel, &c.

Wednesday, 25.—Every prospect of distress now came thundering on with a two fold rapidity. A storm of snow had covered the ground of nigh six inches deep, attended with very severe weather. We now waited in anxious expectation for Col. Enos'

division to come up, in order that we might have a recruit of provisions ere we could start off the ground.* An express was ordered both up and down the river, the one up the river in quest of Col. Arnold, that he might be informed of the state of the army, many of whom were now entirely destitue of any sustenance. The Col. had left previous orders* for the two divisions, viz: Greene's and Enos' to come to an adjustment of the provisions—send back any who were indisposed, either in body or mind, and pursue him with the others immediately. The other express went down the river to desire Col. Enos and officers to attend in consultation. They accordingly came up before noon, when a council of war was ordered. Here sat a number of grimacers—melancholy aspects who had been preaching to their men the doctrine of impenetrability and non-perseverance. Col. Enos in the chair. The matter was debated upon the expediency of proceeding on for Quebec. The party against going urging the impossibility, averring the whole provisions, when averaged, would not support the army five days.

The arrangements of men and provisions being made at Fort Western, in such a manner as to proceed with the greater expedition. For this end it was thought necessary that Capt. Morgan's company with a few pioneers should advance in the first division, Col. Greene's in the second, and Enos, with Capt. Colbourn's company of artificers, to bring up the rear. The advantage of the arrangement was very conspicuous, as the rear division would not only have the roads cut, rivers cleared passible for boats, &c., but stages or encampments formed and the bough huts remaining for the rear. The men being thus arranged, the provisions were distributed according to the supposed difficulty, or facility attending the different dispositions. Many of the first companies took only two or three barrels of flour with several of bread, most in a small proportion. While the companies in the last division had not less than fourteen of flour and ten of bread. The bread as mentioned before, was condemned in consequence of the leaky casks, therefore the proportion of bread being much greater in the first division, their loss was consequently the greater. These hints being premised, I now proceed to the determination of the council of war. After debating upon the state of the army with respect to provisions, there was found very little in the division then encamped at the falls (which I shall name *Hydrophobus*.) The other companies not being come up, either through fear that they should be obliged to come to a divider, or to shew their disapprobation of proceeding any further. The question being put whether all to return, or only part, the majority were for part only returning. Part only of the officers of those detachments were in

* Arnold's Journal, Knapp's Life of Burr. p. 217. Henry's campaign.

this council. The number and opinions of those present were as follows:

For proceeding.	*For returning.*
Lieut. Col. Greene,	Capt. Williams,
Major Bigelow,	—— McCobb,
Capt. Topham,	—— Scott,
—— Thayer,	Adjutant Hide,
—— Ward,	Lieut. Peters.
Lieut. Col. Enos.	

According to Col. Arnold's recommendation the invalids were allowed to return, as also the timorous. One batteau only for each company to proceed, in order to carry the military stores, medicines, &c. Expresses returned, but no word from Col. Arnold, as he was now in the advanced part of Morgan's division, equipped in the best manner to go in to the inhabitants as soon as possible. He carried no other stores except a small quantity of specie, attended with a good pilot in a British canoe, hands sufficient to carry every thing over the various carrying places, and proceeded by water with great expedition. But to return: the officers who were for going forward, requested a division of the provisions, and that it was necessary they should have the far greater quantity in proportion to the number of men, as the supposed distance that they had to go ere they arrived into the inhabitants was greater than what they had come, after leaving the Canebec inhabitants. To this the returning party (being predetermined) would not consent, alledging that they would either go back with what provisions they had, or if they must go forward they'd not impart any. Col. Enos though [he] voted for proceeding, yet had undoubtedly preengaged to the contrary, as every action demonstrated. To compel them to a just division, we were not in a situation, as being the weakest party. Expostulations and entreaties had hitherto been fruitless. Col. Enos, who more immediately commanded the division of *returners*, was called upon to give positive orders for a small quantity, if no more. He replied that his men were out of his power, and that they had determined to keep their possessed quantity whether they went back or forward. They finally concluded to spare [us] 2½ barrels of flour, if determined to pursue our destination; adding that we never should be able to bring [in] any inhabitants. Thus circumstanced, we were left the alternative of accepting their small pittance, and proceed or return. The former was adopted, with a determined resolution to go through or die. Received it, put it on board of our boats, quit the few tents we were in possession of, with all other camp equipage, took each man to his duds on his back, bid them adieu, and away—passed the river, passed over falls and encamped.

Thursday 26th.—We were now within 151 computed miles of

the Canadian inhabitants, every man made the best of his way to the Chaudiere pond, the place of rendezvous for all the forward party except Col. Arnold. Passed three carrying places on the river. Passed over several rocky mountains, and monstrous precipices, to appearance inaccessible, fired with more than Hannibalian enthusiasm. American Alps, nor Pyrenees were obstacles. Passed a pond which the river ran through, lodged on a promontory of another. Only Jack Wright was in company. Came to us in the night Maj. Ogden, volunteer, who being lost, spied our fire, and came on shore in his boat in which were military stores, &c.

Friday, 27th.—Our bill of fare for last night and this morning consisted of the jawbone of a swine destitute of any covering. This we boiled in a quantity of water, that with a little thickening constituted our sumptuous eating.* For covering, the atmosphere only, except a blanket. Took the first advantage of the morning twilight, and proceeded over the pond in the boat with Mr. Ogden, and with much difficulty found the river where it emptied into this pond. It was now very small, serpentine and intricate, that it soon induced me to quit the boat for the land carriage, which to my grief soon found more perplexing. The detachment who were before us had chiefly marched by land. I therefore concluded to take a course by the river which I thought would certainly bring me upon it. But alas, to no purpose. After wandering upon an easterly course for half the day, I took a W. S. W. one, and in the afternoon accidentally hit upon the rack scarcely perceptible. Pursued this river till it was reduced to nothing more than a small brook, incapable of floating the batteaux any further in this, I came up with some of the advanced party who were making ready to quit the stream, and carry over to the pond or small lake, N. W. course. Passed over four ponds this day, the last of which was a beautiful one upon the height of land or Apallachian mountains, from where the Dead river takes its rise. This same Dead river is only a continuation of Cenebec, or at least one branch of it. So that when we quit the Cenebec at the great carrying place, we left the river to the northward and eastward, crossing an elbow of land, and thereby missing about 18 miles of the river Cenebec, said to be but little else but continued falls and rapids, as undoubtedly is the case, as the land was an almost endless ascent during our whole march from lake to lake, till arrived to the fall which led us to the Dead river. I return to our camp. After crossing the last lake, we carried our baggage over a mountain of about 2½ miles ascent; from this chain of mountains proceeds the chief of the streams of any considerable note in New England, and falling

*Henry's campaign, p. 63.

into the Atlantic Ocean. All the streams rising from the westermost and the northermost side of these mountains fall into the river St. Lawrence, and lakes which empty themselves therein. The distance of our last carrying place was 4½ miles. We were now in quest of a small stream called the Seven Mile stream. This, from its course seemed to proceed from a chain of mountains just mentioned, a little to the southward of where we crossed them, and emptied itself into the Chaudiere or Amagunta lake, after running about 7 miles from the place where we fell in with it. Our provisions were now a very inconsiderable part of our burthen, that we got over this portage much easier than when they were plenty. At 4 o'clock, P. M. we arrived at this small but beautiful stream, whose course was about N. E. and by N. Here were waiting Capt. Morgan with all the advanced party, saving Col. Arnold, &c. This place was not a little delightsome, considering its situation in the midst of an amazing wilderness, unfrequented by any except the savages, and them rarely. This stream is environed all along for a very considerable distance on the south side by fine meadows. Joint grass, to a very great growth, seemed the natural and indeed the only production of the soil, except a very few large elms scattered up and down it. Here were also fine trout.

Saturday, 28th.—Were now waiting for the rear of our little detachment to come up, in order to all proceed from this together. Last night imagined that a smoke was discovered to the westward of us, in consequence of which a scouting party were ordered out for examination, but no discovery could be made of any enemy. A letter per express from General Arnold, at 4 o'clock, P. M., requesting as speedy a procedure as possible. That one of his expresses had returned (Tackquith,) from the Canadian inhabitants informing of their amicable disposition towards us, that he had received their pledge of friendship in a loaf of bread, &c. By this time our men were all arrived, embodied, and the glad tidings promulgated among them, to the unspeakable joy of the whole camp. In consequence of this news, we were ordered to be in motion immediately. The provisions were ordered into one fund, in order that every man might be acquainted with what he had to depend upon to carry him into the inhabitants, computed at about a hundred miles. Upon a division of the provisions there five pints per man. Pork, though the only meat, was not properly divisible, as the whole amount would not have been an ounce per man. The officers in general were generous enough to dispense with [it] for the better satisfaction and encouragement of the soldiers. Decamped this evening and marched a mile and a half.

Sunday, 29th.—Not less than 14 days had our detachment been upon half allowance ere yesterday's division took place. That

several of the men devoured the whole of their flour the last evening, determined (as they expressed it,) to have a full meal, letting the morrow look out for itself. The ground being overflowed with water before the little stream emptied into the Chaudiere, it was thought best by the majority to go to the southeast of the stream upon the higher land and so pass round the lake; however, there were three or four companies proceeded down the stream as far as they could, then leaving it to the southward, and taking the north-westerly shore round the lake. While Col. Greene and most of his officers including myself took our course N. E. and by E. for the Chaudiere. Deluded by a pretended pilot, we found our error ere night closed upon us.

From the first appearance of daylight this morn we picked up our small affairs and beat a march. Not long had we marched this course before we came into a spruce and cedar swamp, and arrived at a small pond at 11 o'clock, through the most execrable bogmire, impenetrable *Pluxus* of shrubs, imaginable. This pond we pursued till coming to an outlet rivulet, we followed to a lake much larger than the first, and notwithstanding the most confident assertions of our pilot, we pursued this pond the most of the day, but no Chaudiere. We did not reach out of the spruce and cedar territory this day, but was obliged to encamp in the swamp, as we thought within half a mile of the Chaudiere River, (a river, so called from its making out of the great Chaudiere Lake,) which, according to Montezare's map, we were sure to find the way into the country without difficulty, leading us directly to the river St. Lawrence. This day's march was computed at eighteen miles. Capt. Morgan's company, with seven batteaux, followed the 7 mile stream, with a purpose of passing the south lake, which they effected. These old woodsmen had resolutely persevered in carrying that number of boats over the mountains, with an intent to still preserve a certain quantity of the military stores, which by no other means could be conveyed any further than the Chaudiere.

Monday, 30th.—Cooking being very much out of fashion, we had little else to do than march as quick as light permitted; half an hour only brought us to a water which we imagined to be a creek formed by the lake; laid our course more southwardly, endeavouring to go round it, but three miles march evinced our mistake; our creek proved to be a river of four rods wide. The depth and width of this river rendered it unfordable, nor [was] it possible to form a bridge, as nothing of any bigness grew on its banks. It was now conjectured this river made out of the Allegeny chain of mountains, which we had therefore the marching round it impracticable. We therefore concluded to proceed up it till it was fordable. We had not gone far before we came to a place about four feet deep, which we immediately forded, although

much frozen on each side. This *Balneum Frigidum* served to exercise our motion in order to keep from freezing. Our main course was W. N. W., and only varied to escape the bogs, mountains, small ponds, water streams, &c., of which we met with many. This was the third day we had been in search of the Chaudiere, who were only seven computed miles distant the 28th inst. Nor were we possessed of any certainty that our course would bring us either to the lake or river, not knowing the point it lay from where we started. However we came to a resolution to continue it. In this state of uncertainty we wandered through hideous swamps and mountainous precipices, with the conjoint addition of cold, wet and hunger, not to mention our fatigue—with the terrible apprehension of famishing in this desert. The pretended pilot was not less frightened than many of the rest; added to that the severe execrations he received from the front of the army to the rear, made his office not a little disagreeable. Several of the men towards evening were ready to give up any thoughts of ever arriving at the desired haven. Hunger and fatigue had so much the ascendancy over many of the poor fellows, added to their despair of arrival, that some of them were left in the river, nor were heard of afterwards. In turn with Col. Greene, I carried the compass the greater part of this day. In this condition we proceeded with as little knowledge of where we were, or where we should get to, as if we had been in the unknown interior of Africa, or the deserts of Arabia. Just as the sun was departing, we brought a pond or lake, which finally proved to be Chaudiere, and soon the small foot-path made by the other division of the army, whose choice turned to their account. Our arrival here was succeeded with three huzzas, and then came to our encampment.

Tuesday, 31.—The appearance of daylight roused us as usual, and we had advanced with all possible speed till about 11 o'clock, ere we saw the Chaudiere river, which we last night imagined within a mile. Animated afresh with the sight of a stream, which we very well knew would conduct us into the inhabitants if our strength continued, we proceeded with renewed vigour. The emptying of the Chaudiere is beautiful, and formed a very agreeable ascent, though the stream is somewhat rapid. The land was now much descending, yet very difficult travelling. The spruce, cedar and hemlock were the chief growth of the earth, and these were in tolerable plenty, almost impenetrably so in many places. We now began to discover the wrecked bateaux of those who conducted the ammunition, &c. These were seven in number, who followed the seven mile stream into the Chaudiere lake, river, &c., and soon came to an encampment, where I found Capt. Morgan and most of the boatmen who were wrecked upon a fall in the river, losing every thing except their

lives, which they all saved by swimming, except one of Morgan's riflemen. This was the first man drowned in all the dangers we were exposed to, and the third [lost] by casualties, except some lost in the wilderness, the number unknown. At this encampment was Lieut. McCleland, of Morgan's company, almost expiring with a violent *peripneumonia*. Necessaries were distributed as much as possible, with two lads of the company in charge of him.* Nor was this poor fellow the only one left sick upon this river. Life depending upon a vigorous push for the inhabitants, and that did not admit of any stay for any person; nor could the two lads have been prevailed upon had not provisions been dealt out sufficient to conduct them to the inhabitants, with the promising to send them relief as soon as possible from the settlements. In this general wreck my medicine box suffered the fate of the rest, with a set of capital instruments, &c. Though little was to be feared from either my chirurgical apparatus or physical portions, I had, however, a few necessaries in that way in my knapsack, &c., with a lancet in my pocket, which enabled me at least to comply with the Sangradoine method. Continued our march about five miles further.

Wednesday, Nov. 1st.—Our greatest luxuries now consisted in a little water, stiffened with flour, in imitation of shoemakers' paste, which was christened with the name of Lillipu. Instead of the diarrhœa, which tried our men most shockingly in the former part of our march, the reverse was now the complaint, which continued for many days. We had now arrived as we thought to almost the zenith of distress. Several had been entirely destitute of either meat or bread for many days. These chiefly consisted of those who devoured their provision immediately, and a number who were in the boats. The voracious disposition many of us had now arrived at, rendered almost any thing admissible. Clean and unclean were forms now little in use. In company was a poor dog, [who had] hitherto lived through all the tribulations, became a prey for the sustenance of the assassinators. This poor animal was instantly devoured, without leaving any vestige of the sacrifice. Nor did the shaving soap, pomatum, and even the lip salve, leather of their shoes, cartridge boxes, &c., share any better fate; passed several poor fellows, truly commisserating [them.]

Tuesday, 2d.—Long ere this necessity had obliged us to dismiss all our encamping equipage, excepting a small light tin kettle among a number; but nothing to cut our wood, &c. According to our strength and spirits, we were scattered up and down the river at the distance of perhaps twenty miles. Not more than eight miles had we marched, when a vision of horned cattle,

*Henry's Campaign, p. 63

four footed beasts, &c. rode and drove by animals resembling Plato's two footed featherless ones. Upon a nigher approach our vision proved real! Exclamations of joy.—Echoes of gladness resounded from front to rear! with a te deum. Three horned cattle, two horses, eighteen Canadians and one American. A heifer was chosen as victim to our wants; slain and divided accordingly. Each man was restricted to one pound of beef. Soon arrived two more Canadians in B. Canoes, ladened with a coarse kind of meal, mutton, tobacco, &c. Each man drew likewise a pint of this provender. The mutton was destined for the sick. They proceeded up the river in order to the rear's partaking of the same benediction. We sat down, eat our rations, blessed our stars, and thought it luxury. Upon a general computation we marched from 20 to 30 miles per day. Twenty miles only from this to the settlements. Lodged at the great falls this night.

Friday, 3d.—Last night's lodging was nature's bed without any covering. Every moment expecting to bring the inhabitants in view. Forded a very considerable river, emptying itself into the Chaudiere upon the S. W. side. Half after 10 o'clock, A. M. we arrived at the first town, principally inhabited by the Aborigines. Just ere we entered the town we came to another river much larger than any we'd crossed, which emptied into the Chaudiere in the first settlements. Here was an old native stationed under a hut built with blankets, in wait for us with his boiled potatoes, bread, &c., offering them for sale, he was also ferryman. We trafficked to some small amount with him, and hired his assistance with his little bark over the river, and bid him adieu. The politeness and civility with which the poor Canadian peasants received us, added to our joy when we were conducted to the place of rendezvous, and served out firkin butter and hot bread, which we attacked with great spirit. This place is called Sartigan, naturally excellent soil, beautifully situated. Inhabited with part Canadian French, the other natives. Proceeded five miles.

Sartigan, *Saturday*, 4th. The five miles march last evening brought us to the Colonel's quarters, and this morning the savages assembled in *statu quo*, and waited on the Colonel to know our reasons for coming among them in a hostile manner, pretending they were unacquainted with our intentions, among which was the two expresses despatched from Norrigewalk with letters to Quebec. In the assembly the savages were prepared with an interpreter. They addressed the colonel in great pomp, and one of their chiefs delivered an oration with all the air and gesture of an accomplished orator. After this being explained or translated, the colonel returned the following answer. Friends and brethren:—"I feel myself very happy in meeting with so many of my brethren from the different quarters of the great country, and more so as I find we meet as friends, and that we are equally con-

cerned in this expedition. Brethren, we are the children of those people who have now taken up the hatched against us. More than one hundred years ago, we were all as one family. We then differed in our religion, and came over to this great country by consent of the king. Our fathers bought lands of the savages, and have grown a great people. Even as the stars in the sky. We have planted the ground, and by our labour grown rich. Now a new king and his wicked great men want to take our lands and money without our consent. This we think unjust, and all our great men from the river St. Lawrence to the Mississippi, met together at Philadelphia, were they all talked together, and sent a prayer to the king, that they would be brothers and fight for him, but would not give up their lands and money. The king would not hear our prayer, but sent a great army to Boston and endeavoured to set our brethren against us in Canada. The king's army at Boston came out into the fields and houses, killed a great many women and children, while they were peaceably at work. The Bostonians sent to their brethren in the country, and they came in unto their relief, and in six days raised an army of fifty thousand men and drove the king's troops on board their ships, killed and wounded fifteen hundred of their men. Since that they durst not come out of Boston. Now we hear the French and Indians in Canada have sent to us, that the king's troops oppress them and make them pay a great price for their rum, &c.; press them to take up arms against the Bostonians, their brethren, who have done them no hurt. By the desire of the French and Indians, our brothers, we have come to their assistance, with an intent to drive out the king's soldiers; when drove off we will return to our own country, and leave this to the peaceable enjoyment of its proper inhabitants. Now if the Indians, our brethren, will join us, we will be very much obliged to them, and will give them one Portuguese per month, two dollars bounty, and find them their provisions, and they liberty to *chuse* their own officers."

This declaration had the desired effect, about fifty of them embodied according to agreement, took their canoes and proceeded. From our last lodgings hired a peasant, and proceeded down the river in a canoe five miles to a victualling house or other place of rendezvous. This village, St. Josephs, made a further agreement, and continued down the river about four miles further, as we found nothing agreeable since our arrival, except one quart of New England rum, (if that was to be allowed so) for which I paid one hard dollar. We were making enquiry at every likely stage, for this purpose visited an old peasant's house, where was a merry old woman at her loom, and two or three fine young girls. They were exceedingly rejoiced with our company. Bought some eggs, rum, sugar, sweetmeats, &c., where we made

ourselves very happy. Upon the old woman being acquainted from whence we came, immediately fell singing and dancing "Yankee Doodle" with the greatest air of good humour. After making the old woman satisfied for her kickshaws, saluted her for her civilities, &c., marched. The distance computed from the Chaudiere Lake to the inhabitants, one hundred miles. From thence to Quebec, ninety.

Sunday, 5th.—Our army was in a very scattered condition, expresses were sent to hurry them on as fast as possible. The colonel had an express arrived this day, informing of Mr. Robbisho's being taken prisoner, an express sent by colonel from Sartigan. This put the people in a great panic, as they heard the English were determined to burn and destroy all the inhabitants in the vicinity of Quebec, unless they came in and took up arms in defence of the garrison. Arrived at St. Mary's Chapel, where we had very good entertainment. Good roast turkey, Spanish wine, &c.

Monday, 6th.—This morning orders were given for every captain to get his company on as fast as possible, and not to leave a man behind unless unfit for duty. Had thirty computed miles yet to go ere we came to Point Levi.

Tuesday, 7th.—Water carriage now failing, was either obliged to foot pad it, or hire a horse—chose the latter. Chaplain Spring hired another in the same village, for which we were to pay three hard dollars. After being equipped in the Hudibrastic taste, (except a spur.) In lieu of a saddle, we had an old piece of cushion, across which was a rope, which served as stirrups. Arrived within four leagues of Quebec. Terrible road, mud and mire to the horses' belly.

Wednesday, 8th.—Were within four leagues of Quebec this morning, all possible despatch was used to arrive ere the enemy got any reinforcements of either men or provisions. Arrived at Point Levi 11 o'clock A. M. Snow over shoes. In open sight of the enemy nought but the river divided us. Few of the army arrived this day. Provisions buying up. Canadian mechanicks at work making scaling ladders, lannuts, &c., as many of the men being destitute of shoes, as fast as the beefs were killed, the hides were made into savage shoes. Nothing of great moment while we lay here. We were daily preparing to cross the river St. Lawrence. The enemy had destroyed all the boats canoes, &c., for many miles up and down the river, upon the side we were ere our arrival. The confusion in Quebec was very great. But if we had been in a situation to have crossed the river immediately upon our arrival, they would have fallen an easy prey. Our army daily coming up, our preparations for crossing, the enemy's for repelling us, were the chief occurrences for this four days past.

Saturday, 11th.—Two of the enemy's vessels quit the harbour and went down the river this morning, imagined with valuable effects. I had forgot to mention the arrival of one Mr. Haulstead. into our camp the 9th inst. He was formerly from the Jerseys, followed merchandize in Quebec, had been suspected by the enemy of holding a correspondence with the Bostonians, and previous to our arrival sent down the river about fourteen miles to the Isle d' Orleans. This gentleman could give us no fresh intelligence from the city, not having been there for several days. Our situation was in view of the enemy, who were exerting all their power in furnishing their magazines for their support in the seige. Arrived to their relief this evening Colonel McClean and crew from Montreal in a vessel. We captured Mr. McKenzie, one of their midshipmen, who came ashore on the Point Levi side.' This was acted in sight of two of their ships of war, which occasioned heavy fire from one of them upon the party, but no damage. Log and bark canoes were daily carrying down the river Chaudiere, which emptied into the St. Lawrence but four miles above Point Levi.

Sunday, 12th.—On the chapel door at Point Levi, I found the following pompous proclamation to ensnare the ignorant:

"Conditions to be given to such soldiers as shall engage in the Royal Highland Emigrants. They are to engage during the present troubles in America only. Each soldier is to have 200 acres of land in any province in North America he shall think proper. The king to pay the patent fees, secretary's fees and surveyor general, besides twenty years free of quit rent. Each married man gets fifty acres for his wife, and fifty for each child. on the same terms, and as a gratuity besides the above great terms, one guinea levy money.

ALLEN McLEAN, Lt. Col.
Quebec, Aug. 3, 1775. Commandt."

Monday, 13th. The report from the lower guard mentions three vessels passing down the river from Quebec, this morning early, supposed to be laden with more valuable effects. Two savages from the suburbs of Montreal, arrived with an express from General Montgomery, that he was on the point of entering the city. This gave us new spirits, being in hopes to have as good intelligence to communicate to the General. Things were now hurried with all possible speed. The enemy had advantageously posted two vessels of war in the river, in order to obstruct our passing the river to the Plains of Abraham. The mechanicks had now finished their works. Ladders, lannuts, &c., were in readiness for crossing, when we had orders to be ready at a

' Meig's Journal. Coll. Mass. Hist. Soc. vol. 2, p. 236, (2d ser.) Henry's campaign, 81.

minute's warning. 2 o'clock at night, assembled at a certain place, where we had for shelter some mills, when the boats were to be drawn from the cave of the Chandiere to receive us. Mr. Haulstead, the gentleman before mentioned, served as Pilot. The canoes were but few in number; therefore were obliged to cross and return three times ere the army got over. The night being exceeding dark, every thing was conducted with the utmost secrecy, no lights, no noise. Captain Hatchett and company were left as a guard at Point Levi, to some effects left behind there. It was proposed to cross immediately into Wolfe's Cove, the distance a league. I went in the first division, and in the Pilot boat, in which was General Arnold, Captain Morgan with some riflemen, and one boat load of savages, with others to the amount of six boats. Crossed between the two vessels, notwithstanding the armed barges were plying every hour from ship to ship. We had nigh come in contact with one of them in the midst of the stream, but luckily passed her undiscovered. Landed above the Cove, without being discovered, and contrary to our expectation where there were no sentinels. Guards were detached immediately up and down the river as security, while the canoes returned for the remainder, till all completely made their landing, though in a very scattered condition, by reason of the darkness of the night, distance and rapid ebb tide, &c. However at daylight we were all in the Cove, without any accident except one of the birch canoes bursting asunder in the midst of the St. Lawrence, but happily saved them all, by dragging them ashore, lost all their guns, &c.

The enemy were not yet [seen]—a large fire was built in a house in Wolfe's Cove, where were the castaways a drying themselves, &c. Spies were sent down the river, on the Plains, &c., to discover the movements of the enemy (if any.) The fire was spied by one of the patrolling barges, who came towards the shore, when fired upon by the riflemen, though contrary to orders. Wounded some of them, when they thought proper to put off. They did not yet believe that we had crossed, imagining it impossible on account of their destroying the boats &c., nor were they alarmed in the city, as we could hear the watch very often. Captain Smith with a detachment were ordered to reconnoitre the enemies lines, but could discover no movements. The idea of storming the city was now inadmissible, our plight being so bad, and the enemy's much better after the arrival of Colonel McLean. The city gates were all closed, cannon in order, &c. We marched upon the Plains, took possession of Major Caldwell's house at St. Foys, where we detected some teams loaded with beef, vegetables, &c., going into the city, we surrounded the house [and] took a servant of the Major's.

Tuesday, 14th. Had a general alarm at 12 o'clock, by reason

of their taking one of our advanced sentinels, with the report of their coming out to give us battle. The army turned out, marched within fifty yards of the walls, gave them three cheers, upon which they gave us as many cannon shot.* Took several loads of provisions going into the enemy. Attempted to send in a flag of truce by Major Ogden, but they would not receive it.

Wednesday, 15th. Nothing of consequence transpired this day. Attempted sending by flag again, but was fired upon. Had a false alarm.

Thursday, 16th. A brisk cannonade the most of the day upon a party of Captain Morgan's riflemen, who were stationed upon St. Charles River by the Nunnery. Wounded one Sergeant Dixon, that his leg was amputated.† No other harm.

Friday, 17th. No extraordinary occurrence this day. A Canadian in McLean's regiment came from the enemy, brought intelligence advantageous.

Saturday, 18th. Another deserter from the city, by which we were informed they were preparing their field pieces in order to pay us a visit. A council was called, an examination of our arms, ammunition, &c. The former were found much deficient in numbers, much in disorder. No bayonets, no field pieces and upon an average of the ammunition there amounted only to about four rounds per man. Under these circumstances it was thought proper to raise the siege, and proceed up the river St. Lawrence, 8 leagues to "Point Aux Tremble." In the mean time dispatched an express to General Montgomery, informing him of our situation, &c. Orders were given accordingly, and at eight in the morn we decamped, leaving the old Abraham Plains to the Britons. Orders were likewise dispatched over the river to Point Levi, informing of our determination, and they marched upon the south side. Arrived there the night ensuing.

Sunday, 19th. The main of this day's occurrences under yesterday's head. Met with a large brig coming down from Montreal, in which was General Carleton, as we afterwards heard.

Monday, 20th. The post arrived in our camp this morning, brings certain news of the City of Montreal being in the hands of General Montgomery, and that he was on his march down to our assistance. An express was sent back again to the General.

Tuesday, 21st. Intelligence from Montreal informs of the capture of 11 sail, 800 barrels of pork, a large quantity of flour, &c. Till now our army had been tolerably healthy since our arrival over the river, but free eating, more than usually cold weather, &c., produced inflammations, &c. Nothing material from this to

* Meig's Journal, Coll. Mass. Hist. So. Vol. 2, p. 237. (2d Ser.) Henry's Campaign, 87.

† Henry's Camp. 92, 93.

the 25th. Some severe "Peripneumias," "Anginas," &c. Upon the 25th three up of the enemies ships of war came up the river, and lay off opposite us. Undoubtedly to intercept our shipping, as we every day expected them from Montreal.

Sunday, 26th. A proclamation came to hand issued by General Carleton, commanding all the citizens of Quebec, that would not take arms to defend the city, to disappear within four days; that if found after that they would be treated as spies. In consequence of this order several came out to our army.

Monday, 27th. As the General now approached, a detachment of 60 men were sent to escort him, while Captain Morgan and company was ordered down the river to the suburbs of Quebec to blockade the enemy. From this to the 1st of December no occurrences of note. The ministerial ships returned to the city.

Friday, Dec. 1st. Still at Point Aux Tremble. Arrived some of the ammunition from General Montgomery's army. At 12 o'clock two of our ships appeared from Montreal with soldiers on board. Anchored off Point Le Chapple. On board the top sail schooner was the General.* A division from our little army was ordered out to receive him.

Saturday, 2d. Weather very rainy. This day and Sunday we were busily employed in making ready to proceed down the river to Quebec. A division of men, cannon, &c., were sent down the river.

Monday, 4th.—General orders for all to decamp, and I hired a Frenchman with his charriott, and proceeded to St. Foys, from thence to St. Charles, and took lodgings at Mr. Burrough's.

Tuesday, 5th.—I had now orders to take possession of the General Hospital for the reception of our sick and wounded. This was an elegant building situate upon St. Charles river, half a mile from St. Roque's gate. A chapel, nunnery, and hospital, were all under one roof. This building was every way fit for the purpose, a fine spacious ward, capable of containing fifty patients, with one fire place, stoves, &c. The number of sick were not very considerable at this time, however they soon grew more numerous. The Hospital being in an advanced part of the army, I did not think it expedient to assume a residence therein as yet. In consequence of which I was obliged to visit it daily in open view of the enemy's walls, who seldom failed to give me a few shots every time.

Wednesday, 6th.—The disposition of our army was such now, as to environ the enemy as much as possible, thereby to prevent any further supplies arriving to them, with other necessary preparations as facines, gabions, &c. Nothing extraordinary from

* Henry's Campaign, 98. Meig's Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. Vol. 2 p. 289. (2d Ser.)

this to the 9th, except two prisoners being caught and brought into camp from St. L. R., purchasing up provisions for the enemy. They had 300 dollars in specie.

Saturday, 9th.—General order for a number of fatigue men for erecting a battery on the heights of the plain, distant from the walls of the city 200 yards. This was all done in the night time when the enemy were not apprised of it. In the mean time Captain Wool of the artillery was ordered to proceed into St. Roques in an advantageous place to heave bombs in the city. This was complied with, and I attended the affair. The enemy immediately gave us a fire from the ramparts, whenever they could bring their cannons to bear upon us. What effect our fire had we were never able exactly to ascertain, but I believe nothing considerable, as the bombs were very small. The enemy's fire did us no harm, except killing an old Frenchwoman in her *brodel* administering a spirituous potion to one of our lads.

Sunday, 10th.—The enemy spying our battery, opened a brisk cannonade of their heavy cannon, in order to demolish it, likewise rushed out of St. John's gate in the cover of their cannons, burnt a number of houses, in one of which was a sick woman consumed. This was a distressing circumstance to the poor inhabitants, who were obliged to abandon their houses, notwithstanding the dire inclement season, and seek a shelter in the different parts of the country, where the humanity of the people would admit them. The view of the enemy in this *incineration* was to prevent our troops making a lodgment in them, and facilitating the operation of a general storm upon the city, which they had too much reason to apprehend.

Monday, 11th.—Agreeable to prescription, fifty-five more of the fire pills were given to the Carletonians last evening. Operated with manifest perturbation, as they were (as usual) alarmed. Bells beating, dogs barking, &c. Their cannonade still continued on the battery but to no advantage. Forty-five more pills as cathartic last night.

Thursday, 14th.—The snow or ice battery was finished last night, it chiefly consisted of first, a laying of fascines, then snow, to fill the interstices. The gabions were filled with earth and snow, little, however, of the former, as it was almost impossible to procure any, as the ground was very hard frozen. After the fabric was sufficient in magnificence to cement firm, large quantities of water were poured thereon. This freezing, soon formed into a heterogeneous body, not, however, sufficient to repel the monstrous force of their 32s and 42s, as sad experience soon proved. While mounting the cannon this morn. a shot came through the battery, killed and wounded five* of the train. In

* Meig's Journal, Mss. Hist. Soc. Coll. vol. 2. p. 241, (2d ser.)

and killed and wounded ten this day. Four of whom were Frenchmen.

Friday, 15th.—At the dawn of day our battery opened upon them, in which was mounted five guns, none larger than 12s. The enemy soon followed suit, and the fire and refire was almost incessant for several hours. In the afternoon a flag of truce attempted to go in, but was ordered back immediately, or be fired upon.

Saturday, 16th.—Quit my old lodgings at Monsieur Dorrough's and took a room in the nunnery by consent of the Lady Superior, Monks, &c. The sacredness by which this place was esteemed even by Milion's heterogeneous banditti, seemed to put me out of the power of their shot much more than when I visited every day. However, I seldom failed to have a shot every time I went from this to any of the officers quarters. Cannonade from both sides, not so severe as yesterday. A brave soldier by the name of Morgan received a grape shot under the lower edge of the left scapula close to the uxila, and went obliquely through both lobes of the lungs. Walked more than a mile, with the assistance of a messmate, into the Hospital. A superficial dressing was all that could be done, as violent henoptoi ensued; concluded his residence was not long.

Sunday, 17th.—Had a very heavy snow storm. Cannonade not very heavy. From this to the 23d no occurrences of consequence, except the small pox broke out in the army, and on the 18th five were brought into the hospital.

Saturday, 23d.—Not only the small pox, but the pleurisy, peripneumonia, with the other species of pulmonic complaints, were now very prevalent in the army. However, the issue of in all general favourable.

Sunday, 24th.—By this time the artillery were pretty generally sick of their ice battery, which they fatally experienced to be too feeble for the purpose for which it was erected. The enemy's cannon being very heavy as well as numerous, and as nigh as necessary, our soldiers were obliged to quit the battery. From this time the enemy began their bombarding our barracks, mostly under the shelving precipices of St. Roque, out of the range of most of their cannon, but no considerable damage was done.

Monday, 25th.—The enemy's bombardment still continuing day and night, that the glass of the Hospital was much damaged, but nothing considerable to the soldiery. Had the variloid matter transfused into my arm this day.

Wednesday, 26th.—Nothing extraordinary transpired this day. The enemy continuing their discharge of bombs, &c.

Thursday, 27th.—Preparations were made in a manner as secret as possible for the storming the city in the night. After all things were arranged accordingly, the weather cleared away

serene and bright, which foiled our undertaking. For a mark of distinction each soldier was ordered to procure a fir sprig, and fix it in the front of their caps, whereby they might be discriminated. Of this the enemy were advised by some unaccountable *incident*. At this assemblage there were three captains of companies who were averse to storming, though urged by the general. Their men were willing, but they obstinately determined. Their names I have omitted in consequence of their better behaviour. Upon their declining, the general said he would not compel them, that he wanted no persons with him who went with reluctance. Several of the men signifying their earnest desire of going with the rest of their fellows who went through the woods. Upon which I wrote a billit to Colonel Arnold, desiring his permission to head one of the companies which we then thought would tarry behind in consequence [of the absence] of their commander. Upon which I received this upon the opposite side, which I have preserved in "perpetuam rei memoriam" for future posterity :

"Dear Sir:—I am much obliged to you for your offer, and glad to see you so spirited, but cannot consent you should take up arms, as you will be wanted in the way of your profession. You will please to prepare dressings, &c., and repair to the main guard house at 2 o'clock in the morning with an assistant.

I am in haste, yours,

Doct. Center. B. Arnold, Col.

27 Dec. 1775."

The undertaking was postponed in hopes of a night by it's darkness more favourable. The enemy were daily cleaning out their ditch round the city walls, in order to obstruct our ascending the fortification. From intelligence the enemy undoubtedly expected us every night, especially if thick and cloudy, for which we were now waiting. In this situation we held ourselves in readiness 'till Saturday the 31st, which was stormy, and increased towards evening. The troops from the advanced post were ordered to Head-Quarters in the night. The storm increased most violently, wind northeast, what fell mostly consisted of hail in the night though it snowed the preceeding day. The disposition of the army being made, they were ordered to proceed at four in the morning.

Sunday, 31st. Head-Quarters was at St. Foys. Here General Montgomery kept Colonel Arnold, with several more of the field officers. The arrangements of the army was as follows, viz., General Montgomery on the right wing, with the majority of the troops from Montreal, &c. Colonel Arnold on the left, with his division of "Famine proof Veterans." Colonel Livingston's Canadian Regiment, to assault the walls at St. John's gate, with combustibles for firing the gate, and thereby to draw the

attention of the enemy that way, and at the same time attempt the walls a little distance with scaling ladders, &c. The place where the General was to assault, was on the bank of the St. Lawrence, at the termination of the city walls, and where large piquets were substituted. For this purpose instruments were carried to make the breach. Arnold was to attack at the other extremity of the town, where he first expected to be opposed by some small batteries before he arrived in the lower town, where the two extremes were to form a junction. To discriminate our troops from the enemy in action, they were ordered each officer and soldier to make fast a piece of white paper across their caps from the front to the acmé of them. Thus matters being arranged in the evening, upon their arms they lay 'till 4 o'clock in the morn, during which time the General was noticed to be extremely anxious, as if anticipating the fatal catastrophe.

Ruminating in this despondency, back and forth he traversed his room 'till the limited time bade him go forth!

> "The dawn is overcast, the morning lowr's
> And heavily in clouds brings on the day,
> The great, the important day big with the fate
> Of Montgomery, and his host."

The decree being fixed, and the assailants determined, though gloomy the prospect in this tremendous storm—snow not less than six feet deep, while yet a heavy darkness pervaded the earth almost to be felt. Thus went they on,

> "Through winds and storms, and mountains of snow,
> Impatient for the battle. But, alas!
> Think what anxious moments pass between
> The birth of enterprises, and their last fatal periods,
> Oh! 'tis a dreadful interval of time,
> Filled up with honor all, and big with death."

No sooner had they crossed that bloody plain, American Pharsalia, than the fiery signal was given for the attack. Montgomery at the front of his division forced his way through the strong piquets upon the precipice of the river bank.

> "Greatly unfortunate, he fought the cause,
> Of honor, virtue, liberty and his Country."

But a little way had they entered ere a dire display from the whole extent of their lines illuminated the air, and shocked the environs of the city by the tremendous explosion. The discharge was kept up from the whole extent of the city walls incessantly. While fire balls where kept out beyond where they supposed our troops were, thereby to discover them between the walls and their ball, which burnt notwithstanding the depth of snow with amazing advantage to the enemy. Not more than an hour had

the action continued before the wounded came tumbling in, that the grand ward was directly filled. They continued coming until the enemy rushed out at St. John's Gate and St. Roque's suburbs, and captured the horses and carriages, [the men escaping] which were employed in that service. Few of the wounded escaping from their hands, after the capture of the horses, &c., except those wounded slightly. Daylight had scarce made its appearance ere Colonel Arnold was brought in, supported by two soldiers, wounded in the leg, with a piece of a musket ball. The ball had probable come in contact with a cannon, rock, stone or the like, ere it entered the leg which had cleft off nigh a third. The other two-thirds entered the outer side of the leg, about midway, and in an oblique course passed between the tibia and fibula, lodged in the gastrœnnemea muscle at the rise of the tendon achilles, where upon examination I easily discovered and extracted it. Before the Colonel was done with, Major Ogden came in wounded through the left shoulder, which proved only a flesh wound. The Major gave it as his opinion that we should not be successful. The fire and re-fire continued incessant. No news from the General and his party yet, which gave us doubtful apprehensions of their success. Not long had we remained in an anxious suspense ere an express came down from the plain informing of the fatal news of the death, and that the remainder of his division had retreated precipitately back to Head-Quarters. We were also immediately advised of the fall of Captain Cheesman, and Mr. McPherson, two gallant young officers, the former commanding one of the New York Companies, the latter his Aid-de-Camp. To this melancholy news was immediately added the capture of Captain Darby and company, by a sortie of the enemy from St. Roque's Gate, and that the enemy were still without the walls advancing towards the Hospital. We soon perceived this to be true, in consequence of which all the invalids, stragglers and some few of the artillery that were left behind were ordered to march immediately into St. Roque street with a couple of field pieces under command of Lieut. Captain Wool, who much distinguished himself on this occasion. He took the advantage of a turn in the street and gave the enemy so well directed a fire, as put them to flight immediately. Notwithstanding this, we were momentarily expecting them out upon us, as we concluded Arnold's division, then under the command of Lieut. Col. Greene, were all killed, captured, &c. Under these circumstances we entreated Colonel Arnold for his own safety to be carried back into the country where they would not readily find him when out, but to no purpose. He would neither be removed, nor suffer a man from the Hospital to retreat. He ordered his pistols loaded, with a sword on his bed, &c., adding that he was determined to kill as many as possible if they came into the room. We were now all soldiers,

even to the wounded in their beds were ordered a gun by their side. That if they did attack the Hospital to make the most vigorous defence possible. Orders were sent out into the villages round the city, to the Captains of the militia to immediately assemble to our assistance. The peasants, however friendly disposed, thought it too precarious a juncture to shew themselves in that capacity, and those nigh rather retreated back into the country, than give any assistance. The storm still continued tremendously. Colonel Livingston's Regiment who were employed in firing St. John's Gate made the best of their way off soon after the heavy fire began. Orders were dispatched up to St. Foy's for assistance from the party who were retreated, who assisted but little. An express was sent off to Congress informing of our situation, and requesting immediate assistance. No news from Greene's division to be depended on. The prospect was gloomy on every side. The loss of the bravest of Generals, with other amiable officers smote the breasts of all around with inexpressible grief. "Oh, Liberty! Oh, virtue! Oh, my country!" seemed the language of all.

January 1, 1776.—All in obscurity; no intelligence from the troops in the lower town. Some suggesting they were all prisoners, &c., while others imagined they were in possession of the lower town, and waiting for assistance to enter the upper town. While in this suspense, Mr. Duncan, a young gentleman volunteer, desired the Colonel would give him liberty to attempt passing into the lower town in quest of the little detachment; received orders, went, but no return.

Tuesday, 2d. Major Meigs came out of the city on parole, by whom we obtained a history of the affair. That they forced their way into the lower town, captured one captain and company. That for some time before they got into the city, their guns were so foul, by reason of the inclement weather, as scarcely one of them could be discharged. That they were obliged, for a considerable time, to fight their way almost entirely with their launuts, gun breeches, &c. That, under every disadvantage, they kept the lower town till nigh 11 o'clock, A. M., in hopes of General Montgomery's assistance, but not finding [it] were obliged to capitulate, and surrender themselves prisoners of war, &c. Said further, they were used very well. Carried in the officer's clothing, &c. Informed of Captain Hendricks, Lieut. Humphreys, and sundry others being slain. Returned the same day.*

Wednesday, 3d. Colonel Reine, a French gentleman, brevetted in commission by Arnold, and desired to go down the River St. Lawrence in order to bring in Canadians to our assistance, was

* Meig's Journal, Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., vol. 2, p. 243 to 247. Henry's Campaign, 111 to 123.

promised by the militia officers to come in as soon as possible No movements of the enemy this day.

Thursday, 4th. The enemy very still—nothing of moment transpiring relative to the troops on either side. Had a heavy rain, unknown almost to the country at this season.

Friday, 5th. Thaw continuing. Snow six feet deep. No occurrences of moment.

Saturday 6th. The troops were stationed in the most advantageous position for preventing the enemy making any descent upon us. The number I cannot exactly ascertain, but imagine them to be about 400. We had now relinquished the idea of taking the city by force till a reinforcement should arrive. Contented ourselves with barely keeping up the blockade, and found ourselves very happy and undisturbed. We were, however, alarmed often by their coming out into the suburbs, pillaging after fire-wood, &c. They took down any building they could come at for that purpose. This occasioned the Colonel to give orders to our troops to burn and destroy as many of the houses as they would be likely to obtain, in order to distress them, in hopes they would be obliged to capitulate for want of fire-wood, &c. We, however, came short in our expectations to reduce them in this way, notwithstanding every house was burnt in the city suburbs where our troops could come nigh enough. From this to the 18th of March nothing extraordinary happening. Burning the houses to prevent the enemy's getting them often occasioned slight skirmishing, with various success, but nothing capital. About this time arrived troops from Montreal to our assistance. Several deserters coming out, but never able to obtain a true state of their army. From this to April the 3d, no occurrences of moment. Troops coming up to our relief. A battery opened from Point Levi upon the city, but being scanty of ammunition were allowanced only a few round per day, just to keep the enemy in a continual alarm. About this time an insurrection happened down the river St. Lawrence, about six leagues from Quebec, in consequence of some of the enemy's emissaries, joined to the envious instigations of some of their priests. They collected a number of Canadians, and were marching up in form to take possession of our troops at Point Levi. Of this the General obtained intelligence, and immediately detached Major Dubois, a very brave officer, with a number of men to oppose them. The major fell in with their party upon surprise, killed some, wounded others, (among the last was a priest) and captured a number more and brought them to Head Quarters. Arnold had some time since received a Brigadier's commission, but being a younger officer than General Wooster, then commanding at Montreal, the former was superseded by the latter. General Arnold had so far recovered of his wound ere

General Wooster's arrival, as to be able to ride a horseback. This aspiring genius, so much disgusted at being superseded at a time when he had not only nearly recovered of his wound, but was in daily expectation of the enemies surrendering for lack of necessaries. His tarry after this was short. He repaired to Montreal, and took the command there. The 22d of this month a battery opened from the bank of Charles river, by the name of Smith's battery. From this was discharged red hot shot, in hopes of firing the town. They returned the fire exceeding heavy, but but no considerable harm from either side. Two of our artillery men were wounded very much, by the cartridges taking fire while ramming them home, but recovered again. The enemy continued their cannonade and bombardment excessive heavy, while we were restricted to a certain number per day, in consequence of very little ammunition. There was very little damage from either cannon or bombs. Some wounded, but very few of our men killed. The reign of Wooster was but short, and about the 5th of May he was superseded by Gen. Thomas. About this time a plot was formed to burn the shipping in the harbour. A fire ship was completed in charge of Adjutant Anderson, a very brave officer, but proved abortive, by reason of the tide ebbing before he could get up to the shipping. The combustibles took fire before he intended, by which accident he was much burnt. He was, however, got on shore, and no lives lost. The small-pox still continued in the army. Numbers of the soldiers inoculated themselves, and indeed several officers, tho' contrary to orders at this time. Scarce any of the New England recruits had ever had the disorder, and coming into the army when it was very brief, gave apprehensions of taking it in the natural way, which many did. From this to the sixth of May, no momentous occurrences from either side, except a report from down the river, brought us by some of the honest peasants, that a fleet was coming up. To this there was not sufficient credit given, imagining it impossible for any arrival so early in the spring. General Wooster being superseded gave him great distress, and General Thomas being an utter stranger in the country, and much terrified with the small-pox. Strongly neglecting the reports of the approach of the enemy's fleet, tho' repeatedly attested to by several of the good inhabitants, till the morning of the sixth, when we were alarmed by the discharge of cannon down the river. These were immediately answered from the city, and at half an hour by sun, four ships arrived in the harbour. Immediately upon landing their marines, soldiers, &c., they rushed out in parties, the one for Head Quarters upon the plains of Abraham, and the other for the Hospital General.

The army was in such a scattered condition as rendered it im-

possible to collect them either for a regular retreat, or to bring them into action. In this dilemma, orders were given to as many of the troops to retreat as the time would permit, and in the most irregular, *helter skelter* manner we raised the siege, leaving every thing. All the camp equipage, ammunition, and even our clothing, except what little we happened to have on us. Two of their frigates proceeded immediately up the river, not only to annoy us in marching, but in quest of several vessels of the fleet which General Montgomery brought from Montreal. Wind and tide favouring the enemy's frigates, they were very nigh within cannon shot of ours before they could get under way. They hauled upon our shipping so rapidly, as obliged the captains to run them ashore, and put fire to them. They still kept in chase of us up the river both by land and water, and in the most disorderly manner we were obliged to escape as we could. The detachment stationed at Point Levi, as well as those at Chairlebore, were not apprised of a retreat till they saw our troops quitting the ground, and then they were between the army of us and the enemy. That obliged them to escape through the woods a very great distance before they fell in with the St. Lawrence. The most of our sick fell into their hands, with all hospital stores, &c. The first stand we endeavoured to make was at Point De Shombo, [Chambaud] 45 miles from Quebec, but not being able to collect provisions sufficient, were obliged to abandon it and proceed up along. The poor inhabitants seeing we were abandoning their country, were in the utmost dilemma, expecting as many as had been aiding us every way to be sacrificed to the barbarity of those whose severity they had long felt, though under the specious pretence of civil government, which, in fact, had been in essence nothing but an arrogant military one. No provisions could be obtained but by the force of arms. No conveniences for ferrying our troops over the rivers emptying in upon either side of the St. Lawrence, except a canoe or two, and these were rare. By reason of the spring flood which in this country is amazing in many low places, the army were obliged to travel a great distance round them, as the river had overflowed its banks in many places to the distance of several miles. In this perplexed situation we however arrived at Sorel about forty miles below Montreal, where we made a stand and collected our whole force, which was not very formidable. Notwithstanding several new recruits had by this time arrived. The small pox still very rife in the army new troops few of them who had had it. I was ordered by Gen. Thomas who commanded, to repair to Montreal and erect an hospital for their reception, as well by the natural way as inoculation. I accordingly made application to General Arnold, then commanding in the city, and obtained a fine capacious house be-

longing to the East India Company. It was convenient for nigh six hundred. I generally inoculated a regiment at a class, who had it so favourable as to be able to do garrison duty during the whole time. About this time an action happened up above Montreal at the Cedars, nine miles from hence between, Major Shereburne and party, and a number of savages, with one company of regular troops. Shereburne and the chief of his party were taken, some few killed, &c. We were now betwixt the two armies of the foe under every embarrassment possible, no quantity of ammunition, no provisions but obtained by force of arms. Sorel, a low, unhealthy place at the entrance of the river Chamblee into the St. Lawrence, flat and almost upon a water level. Land the highest some distance back of our fortifications. Works might easily be raised entirely overlooking ours. A number of men about this time detached to attack the advanced guard at the "Three Rivers." These proved unsuccessful, and Gen. Thompson with the chief of the division were killed and captured. Fortune and the country seemed jointly against us. Our principal fortifications not tenable against an equal number if attacked by land. Our prospect was still gloomy. A committee from Congress had been in Montreal for some time with a view of giving the money currency, but it answered no purpose. Gen. Thomas caught the natural small pox, sickened at Sorel, was carried to Chamblee and died. Soon after this General Sullivan arrived and took the command. Wooster went to Montreal, and Arnold to Chamblee. Enemy drawing upon us from every quarter, assimilating the savages. Our army, weakened by the small pox, and in fine every movement against the enemy unsuccessful, a retreat was ordered to St. John's. The troops accordingly evacuated Montreal the 9th of June. Soon after our arrival here, it was judged requisite to send the heavy artillery with all the sick and invalids, &c., over the lakes as soon as possible. I left St. Johns the 11th of June, and proceeded off over the lakes in an open row boat. The remainder of the army did not tarry long before they entirely evacuated the country, and though necessitated under the circumstances we then were, yet, it seemed, upon reflection, a strange series of unaccountable misfortunes, the product of various causes, but from none more than an unpardonable neglect either in our commanders, in not giving Congress a true representation of the state of the army from time to time, or if so represented by them, the fault may be sought for in the non-attention of the latter. Thus ended an expedition of nine months continuance, the ill success of which in any other cause would have induced us to have renounced the principles. A heterogeneal concatenation of the most peculiar and unparalleled rebuffs and sufferings that are perhaps to be found in the annals of any

nation, with so much magnanimity, intrepidity, &c., urged by the powerful motives of the expiring liberties of a once happy, but now convulsed and tottering country!

"'Tis not in mortals to command success,
But we've done more—we've deserved it."

FINIS.

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